

Index

- '1-points' 87
- '2-points' 87

- acquis communautaire* 28, 141, 196
- actorness 15, 16, 20–24, 138, 140
- administrative overload 7, 79, 114, 125–6, 129, 224
- Agence Europe 9
- Amsterdam Treaty (1997) 62, 63, 184
- 'A-points' 92
- Arab Spring 123
- Ashton, Catherine 2, 97, 117–18, 185, 205, 206

- Barroso, José Manuel 13, 156, 194, 210, 211
- bilateral forums 9, 135, 145–7, 150–51, 153, 154
- Blair, Tony 191
- Borrell, Josep 211
- bounded rationality 36, 78, 128
- 'B-points' 92
- Bretherton, Charlotte 21, 23, 26
- Brexit 170
- BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) states 123

- capability–expectations gap 20, 23, 64
- capacity (actorness dimension) 21
- CEEC (Central and Eastern European Countries) 182
- CFSP (Common Foreign and Security Policy) 9
 - coherence as a guiding principle 62, 73
 - coordinating foreign policy 80–81, 82, 86, 87, 89, 90, 92–3, 95, 97, 98–100, 103, 114, 117, 120, 121, 121n, 124
 - EU–Russia relations 138, 171–2, 173
 - milieu and possession goals 183–4, 185
 - research framework 12–13, 14, 16, 18, 26n, 28, 30
- CGEA (Commissioners' Group on External Action) 97, 99
- Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2000) 187
- Chechen War 83
- Chirac, Jacques 211
- CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) 147, 150
- 'civilian power' 19, 22, 168
- CJEU (Court of Justice of the European Union) 184, 187n, 188
- CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) 138
- COEST (Working Party on Eastern Europe and Central Asia) 87–90, 91, 94–5, 99, 102, 104, 106, 109
- coherence analysis (research framework) 6, 15, 16–17, 23–32, 40–42
- COHOM (Working Party on Human Rights) 87, 90–92, 95, 99
- Cold War 7, 8, 16, 46, 62, 135, 138, 146, 147, 152, 156–7, 171
- committee level (Council of the European Union) 86, 87, 88, 89, 92–3, 95, 99, 101, 104, 125
- Community law 184
- comprehensively formulated policies 67–8
- compulsory negotiation system 72, 80
- conditionality 23, 40, 46
 - EU–Russia relations 135, 136, 139, 140–42, 145, 147, 155, 183, 198
- consensus-finding 3, 31, 37, 41, 79, 80, 87, 94, 102, 126, 127, 128, 223
- consistency

- coherence as a guiding principle 60, 61–4, 64n, 68, 69, 72, 73, 74
- coordinating foreign policy 86, 90, 94, 95, 98, 104, 120, 124
- milieu and possession goals 188–9, 194, 199, 204, 205–6, 213
- research framework 25–9, 32, 44
- Constitutional Treaties 62–3, 184
- coordinating foreign policy 6–7, 77–9, 126–9, 222–3
 - administrative overload 7, 79, 114, 125–6, 129
- CFSP 80–81, 82, 86, 87, 89, 90, 92–3, 95, 97, 98–100, 103, 114, 117, 120, CFSP 121, 121n, 124
- common practices, values and objectives 6, 106–7
- coordination mechanisms 78, 80, 89, 98, 101–3, 113, 115, 119, 122, 126–7, 128–9, 223, 224
- Council of the European Union 6, 79, 80, 81, 86–95, 96, 98–102, 103–4, 106, 107–8, 110, 111, 118, 119, 120, 123–4, 125, 127
- decision-making 80–82, 94, 95, 114, 116, 117, 123, 126
- defining the approach 111–13
- EEAS 6, 77–8, 79, 81, 82, 83, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, 93–4, 96–7, 98–101, 102, 105, 111–12, 114, 117–22, 123, 126, 127–8
- energy policy 81, 84–6, 87, 90, 92, 95–6, 97, 100, 101–2, 108, 114–15, 118–19, 120–22, 124–5, 126
- European Commission 6, 77, 79, 81, 82, 85, 95–102, 110, 111, 112, 114, 117, 118–20, 121–4, 127
- European Council 6, 77, 79, 81–6, 94, 95, 98–9, 102, 117, 118, 120, 123, 125–6, 127
- five guiding principles 107, 112–13, 117, 119, 123, 124, 127, 128, 223
- formal aspects of coordination 6, 79–103, 222, 223
- fragmented institutional framework 7, 116–19, 222, 224
- HR 6, 79, 81, 86, 94, 95, 97, 98–101, 117–18, 119, 120, 122, 127–8
- human rights policy 81, 87, 90–92, 95, 100, 109–10, 116, 124
- incomplete competences 6, 114–16
- informal coordination practices 6, 103–13, 222, 223
- institutionalism 78, 80, 102, 103, 114, 128, 129
- institutionalization 78, 89, 113–14, 129
- interinstitutional coordination mechanisms 101–3
- lack of coherence in 6–7, 113–26, 127–9, 222–3, 224
- lack of strategic objectives 7, 122–5
- like-minded groups 6, 107–9, 113, 127, 128
- research framework 45–6
- socialization 6, 103–6, 113, 127, 128
- turf wars 7, 79, 114, 119–22, 129
- uploading 6, 18, 79, 109–11, 113, 127, 128
- coordination mechanisms 45, 48, 75
 - coordinating foreign policy 78, 80, 89, 98, 101–3, 113, 115, 119, 122, 126–7, 128–9, 223, 224
- COREPER (Committee of Permanent Representatives) 77, 88, 92–3, 104, 108, 120–21, 125
- Council of the European Union 136
 - committee level 86, 87, 88, 89, 92–3, 95, 99, 101, 104, 125
 - coordinating foreign policy 6, 79, 80, 81, 86–95, 96, 98–102, 103–4, 106, 107–8, 110, 111, 118, 119, 120, 123–4, 125, 127
 - ministerial level 86, 87, 88, 90, 93–5, 111, 121, 144, 151
 - working party level 86, 87–92, 95, 101, 110
- crude oil imports 147–9
- CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) 140
- CSDP (Common Security and Defence Policy) 18, 19, 28, 30, 83, 100

- data sources 9
 death penalty 19
 decision-making 3, 4, 9, 204, 223, 224, 227
 coherence as a guiding principle 67, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74
 coordinating foreign policy 80–82, 94, 95, 114, 116, 117, 123, 126
 EU–Russia relations 169–70, 171
 research framework 20–21, 27n, 28, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 41, 47
 Declaration on Democracy of the Copenhagen European Council (1978) 182
 Declaration on European Identity of the Copenhagen European Council (1973) 182
 Declaration on Human Rights (1991) 182
 defining ‘coherence’ 2, 4, 25–9, 60
 defining EU foreign policy 12–14
 deliberation 36–7, 40, 151, 154, 167, 170, 228–9
 Delors, Jacques 82
 DG (Directorate General of the European Commission) 89, 95–6, 111, 112, 120, 145
 DG ENER (DG for Energy of the European Commission) 90, 96, 121, 122, 149
 DG RELEX (DG for External Relations of the European Commission) 96, 97, 99, 119, 204
 ‘divide and rule’ strategy 116, 156, 162, 164, 199, 203
 dual analytical approach 4, 6, 7, 34, 40–42, 44, 69, 221, 224

 ECHR (European Convention on Human Rights) 154, 186, 187–8, 187n
 ‘economic power’ 5, 19, 21, 142, 162, 196, 202
 ECT (Energy Charter Treaty) 95, 150, 160, 163, 167, 190
 EEAS (European External Action Service) 2, 13, 14, 223
 coherence as a guiding principle 66, 67, 68
 coordinating foreign policy 6, 77–8, 79, 81, 82, 83, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, 93–4, 96–7, 98–101, 102, 105, 111–12, 114, 117–22, 123, 126, 127–8, 223
 EU–Russia relations 136, 145, 153, 157, 158, 159, 160–61, 163, 164, 169, 170
 milieu and possession goals 184–5, 203, 204, 207
 effectiveness analysis (research framework) 15, 16, 22–4, 28, 29, 35, 36–7, 41, 44
 ‘end of history’ thesis 138
energy acquis 198, 199, 202, 212
 Energy Community 95, 125, 160, 163, 190, 192, 193, 194–5, 196, 198–9
 Energy Dialogue 97, 119, 122, 149–51, 160, 193–4
 ‘energy diplomacy’ 121–2, 161
 energy policy 4, 8
 coherence as a guiding principle 63, 66, 73
 competitive energy negotiations 2–3
 coordinating foreign policy 81, 84–6, 87, 90, 92, 95–6, 97, 100, 101–2, 108, 114–15, 118–19, 120–22, 124–5, 126
 dynamics between possession and milieu goals 7, 47, 200–204, 208–15, 225–6
 EU–Russia relations 7, 136, 142, 143, 146–51, 152, 154, 159–62, 163, 165–7, 169, 172, 224–5
 institutionalization 9
 milieu goals 7, 47, 189–99, 200–204, 208–15, 225–6
 milieu shaping 189–99, 202, 203, 213, 214
 possession goals 7, 47, 189–96, 197, 200–204, 208–15, 225–6
 research framework 38–9
 Energy Union 8, 121–2, 194–5, 229
 ENP (European Neighbourhood Policy) 142, 144, 159, 163, 171
 EP (European Parliament)
 coordinating foreign policy 77, 79–80

- EU–Russia relations 136, 146, 152–3, 155, 164, 167–9
- milieu and possession goals 188, 205–6, 212
- EPC (European Political Cooperation) 30, 61–2, 103, 138, 182
- EPE (Energy Policy for Europe) 85, 191, 193
- EUAM (EU Advisory Mission for Civilian Security Sector Reform Ukraine) 164
- Euratom Treaty (1958) 190
- European Atomic Energy Community 190
- European Coal and Steel Community 8, 189–90
- European Commission
 - coherence as a guiding principle 63, 66, 67, 68, 72, 73,
 - coordinating foreign policy 6, 77, 79, 81, 82, 85, 95–102, 110, 111, 112, 114, 117, 118–20, 121–4, 127
 - Directorate Generals *see* DG; DG ENER; DG RELEX
 - EU–Russia relations 136, 149, 156, 157, 158–9, 160, 161, 167, 169
 - milieu and possession goals 185, 190–91, 192–3, 194–5, 197–8, 200–204, 210, 228–9
 - research framework 13, 27n, 28, 31
- European Council 9, 228, 229
 - coherence as a guiding principle 63, 72
 - coordinating foreign policy 6, 77, 79, 81–6, 94, 95, 98–9, 102, 117, 118, 120, 123, 125–6, 127
 - EU–Russia relations 136, 144, 145, 167–8, 169, 170
 - milieu and possession goals 7, 187, 190, 191, 192–3, 194–5, 208–12
 - research framework 13, 45,
- European Court of Auditors 69
- European Court of Human Rights 152, 154
- ‘European integration’ theories 1, 8, 170
- milieu and possession goals 181, 186–7, 189–90, 194–5, 201
- research framework 13, 14, 16, 17, 35
- ‘European norms’ 136, 137, 141, 141n, 172, 224
- European Security Strategy (2003) 70, 211
- European Union Global Strategy (2016) 70
- EuRoPol Gaz S.A. 200–201
- Eurostat 9
- EU–Russia relations 4, 7, 8, 135–7, 172–3
 - bilateral forums 9, 135, 145–7, 150–51, 153, 154
 - challenges in 156–72
 - coherence as a guiding principle 61, 62, 69
 - conditionality of 135, 136, 139, 140–42, 145, 147, 155, 183, 198
 - consolidating 7, 143–56, 172
 - coordinating foreign policy 78, 79, 83, 89, 91, 94, 99–100, 106, 110, 112–13, 116, 118,
 - energy policy 7, 136, 142, 143, 146–51, 152, 154, 159–62, 163, 165–7, 169, 172, 224–5
 - EU’s lack of identity 7, 136, 137, 156, 165–72, 173, 225
 - European Commission 136, 149, 156, 157, 158–9, 160, 161, 167, 169
 - European Council 136, 144, 145, 167–8, 169, 170
 - European External Action Service 136, 145, 153, 157, 158, 159, 160–61, 163, 164, 169, 170
 - ‘European norms’ 136, 137, 141, 141n, 172
 - European Parliament 136, 146, 152–3, 155, 164, 167–9
 - external challenges 7, 156–65
 - harmonization of 135, 136, 141, 142, 151, 173
 - human rights policy 7, 136, 138, 139–40, 142, 143, 146–7, 149, 152–6, 157–9, 165, 167–9, 172, 224

- institutionalization of 7, 135–6, 137, 143–7, 149, 151–5, 156–8, 159, 164, 167, 172–3, 224
 internal challenges 7, 165–72
 liberalism 138–9, 148, 160–61, 166, 170
 milieu goals 140, 151, 155–6, 165, 169, 188, 197–8, 206, 208, 209–10
 milieu shaping 135, 136, 137, 141, 143, 144, 145, 147, 151, 152, 154, 155–6, 158–9, 161, 164–5, 169, 172–3, 224–5
 normalization of 83, 135, 136, 137, 139, 149, 155, 164, 172, 224
 normative criteria 138–9, 141–2, 141n, 155, 156–7, 159, 165, 168, 171
 Partnership and Cooperation Agreement 139–42, 143–5, 146, 149, 151, 153, 155, 159, 167, 168n
 possession goals 140, 143, 151, 154, 188, 197–8, 206, 208, 209–10
 rebuilding 7, 137–43, 172
 research framework 12, 24, 45, 46, 49
 shared neighbourhood 135, 143, 156, 162–3, 171
 shared norms and values 137–43, 154–5, 156, 157, 171, 224
 Ukraine crisis 7, 137, 143, 146, 147, 148, 151, 153, 154, 155, 156, 163–4, 170–71, 173, 224–5
 EWP (Energy Working Party) 87, 90–91, 95, 101, 104
 external opportunity structure 15, 25, 31–2
 FAC (Foreign Affairs Council) 63, 81, 86, 93–4, 95, 98–9, 117, 120–22, 123–4, 205
 Ferrero-Waldner, Benita 159
 five guiding principles 107, 112–13, 117, 119, 123, 124, 127, 128, 136, 223
 ‘Four Common Spaces’ framework 142, 144
 fragmented institutional framework 7, 116–19, 222, 224
 Fukuyama, Francis 138
 future policy-making and research 226–30
 GAC (General Affairs Council) 77, 93, 123–4
 GAERC (General Affairs and External Relations Council) 93
 Gas Advisory Council 150, 151
 Gauttier, Pascal 26–7, 27n
 Gazprom 97, 118, 163, 166, 197–8, 200–202
 Gaz-System 201
 Gebhard, Carmen 27, 27n, 29
 Grexit 170
 guiding principle, coherence as 6, 60–61, 74–5
 coherence between external policies 67–8
 coherence between institutional actors 65–7
 coherence in practice 6, 69–73
 consistency 60, 61–4, 64n, 68, 69, 72, 73, 74
 ‘coordination’ and ‘agreement’ 68–9
 decision-making 67, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74
 defining ‘coherence’ 60
 external action 61–4, 70–71
 foreign policy-making 64–9, 72–3
 policy content 60–61, 65, 68, 69, 74–5, 222
 policy setting 60–61, 65, 67, 69, 74–5, 222
 research framework 44–5
 Hampton Court Summit (2005) 191, 196
 hard power 19
 harmonization 46, 135, 136, 141, 142, 151, 173, 211
 Hermitage Capital Management 205
 hierarchical escalation ladder 94, 127
 ‘high politics’ 38, 92
 Hill, Christopher 20, 23, 25–6
 historical institutionalism 35, 36, 78, 114, 128, 129
 horizontal coherence
 coherence as a guiding principle 61, 63, 65, 74

- coordinating foreign policy 96, 97, 99, 101, 116, 128
 - milieu and possession goals 185, 209, 211
 - research framework 15, 25, 26, 27, 27n, 28–9, 30, 31, 32, 45, 48
 - horizontal coordination mechanisms 45, 48, 78, 80, 89, 92, 93, 102, 126–7, 223
 - Howorth, Jolyon 77–8
 - HR (High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy) 2, 13, 14, 63, 72, 169
 - coordinating foreign policy 6, 79, 81, 86, 94, 95, 97, 98–101, 117–18, 119, 120, 122, 127–8, 223
 - milieu and possession goals 184–5, 205, 206
 - HR-CFSP (High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy) 77, 85–6
 - Human Rights Consultations 91–2, 153, 158–9, 169, 184, 188, 205–6
 - human rights policy 4
 - closing the internal–external gap 186–9
 - coherence as a guiding principle 63
 - coordinating foreign policy 81, 87, 90–92, 95, 100, 109–10, 116, 124
 - discrepancies in 3
 - dynamics between possession and milieu goals 7, 47, 200, 204–15, 225–6
 - EU–Russia relations 7, 136, 138, 139–40, 142, 143, 146–7, 149, 152–6, 157–9, 165, 167–9, 172, 224
 - institutionalization 9
 - landmark cases 204–8, 214
 - ‘mainstreaming’ human rights 8, 63, 91, 185–6, 188, 212, 213, 214
 - milieu goals 7, 47, 181–9, 200, 204–15, 225–6
 - milieu shaping 182, 184, 187, 188, 189
 - possession goals 7, 47, 200, 204–15, 225–6
 - research framework 14, 39
 - shared values 182–6
 - IEM (Internal Energy Market) 73, 90, 92, 125
 - incoherence 3, 4, 29, 65, 70, 72, 80, 167, 169, 213, 221–6
 - incomplete competences 6, 114–16
 - institutional legacies 36, 78, 114, 118, 128, 129
 - institutional reform 223–4, 228
 - coherence as a guiding principle 62–3, 67, 72
 - coordinating foreign policy 79, 87, 89, 91, 94, 96, 99, 102, 111, 113–14, 119, 122, 127, 128–9
 - research framework 12, 15, 16, 25, 30–31, 32, 35, 36–7, 41–2
 - institutionalism 4–5, 221, 223, 226
 - coordinating foreign policy 78, 80, 102, 103, 114, 128, 129
 - historical institutionalism 35, 36, 78, 114, 128, 129
 - new institutionalisms 16, 34–5, 37, 78
 - rational choice institutionalism 35–6, 37, 78, 80, 102, 114, 128, 129
 - research framework 15, 16, 34–8, 39, 40, 42, 45–6
 - sociological institutionalism 35, 36, 37, 78, 103, 114, 128, 129
 - institutionalization 3–4, 9, 221, 222–3, 224, 225, 226
 - coherence as a guiding principle 64, 75
 - coordinating foreign policy 78, 89, 113–14, 129
 - EU–Russia relations 7, 135–6, 137, 143–7, 149, 151–5, 156–8, 159, 164, 167, 172–3, 224
 - milieu and possession goals 189, 214
 - research framework 14, 16, 18, 34, 37, 44, 46
 - intergovernmentalism 16, 17–18, 19, 34
 - interinstitutional coordination mechanisms 101–3
 - internal opportunity structure 15, 25, 31–2
- International Relations* 23

- inter-pillar coherence 28, 30–31
 intra-pillar coherence 28, 30–31
 Iraq War 14
 Iron Curtain 8, 137, 138
- JHA (Justice and Home Affairs Council)
 81
Journal of European Public Policy 23
 Juncker Commission 97, 194, 195
 Juncker, Jean-Claude 195
- Key Outstanding Issues 111–13, 127,
 128, 223
 Khanty-Mansiysk Summit (2008) 145
 Khodorkovsky, Mikhail 168, 204, 205
 Kissinger, Henry 13, 118, 122–3
 Kyoto protocol 160
- Lahti European Council 7, 181, 192, 200,
 208–12, 214, 226
 Landaburu, Eneko 204
 landmark cases (human rights policy)
 204–8, 214
 Lavenex, Sandra 197
 Lavrov, Sergey 142, 162
 legal frameworks 40, 151–2, 160, 184,
 186, 187, 196–9, 202
 legal remedies 15, 25, 29–30, 31, 32,
 41–2, 67
 ‘legal transplantation’ 199
 LGBT rights 152, 157–8
 liberalism 17
 EU–Russia relations 138–9, 148,
 160–61, 166, 170
 milieu and possession goals 195–6,
 197, 198, 199, 201, 213
 Libyan conflict 14
 like-minded groups 6, 79, 107–9, 113,
 127, 128, 223
 Lisbon Treaty (2009)
 coherence as a guiding principle
 62–3, 64, 72, 73
 coordinating foreign policy 80, 89,
 90, 93–4, 96, 97, 98–9, 100,
 102, 117, 117n, 119–21, 122,
 123
 EU–Russia relations 138n, 169
 milieu goals 184, 187, 187–8n
 research framework 14, 18, 26n
- Litvinenko, Alexander 110, 204, 205
 LNG terminals 166
 Luxembourg Report (1970) 61
- Maastricht Treaty (1992) 62, 73, 187,
 190
 Magnitsky Act (2016) 168, 205, 206
 Magnitsky, Sergei 91, 152, 168, 204,
 205–6, 207, 208
 ‘mainstreaming’ human rights 8, 63, 91,
 185–6, 188, 212, 213, 214
 Mandelson, Peter 3
 ‘market power’ 5, 19
 Medvedev, Dmitry 146, 161, 205
 Memorandum on an Early Warning
 Mechanism 150
 Merkel, Angela 146, 211
 Meseberg memorandum 146
 milieu goals 5, 221
 energy policy 7, 47, 189–99,
 200–204, 208–15, 225–6
 EU–Russia relations 140, 151,
 155–6, 165, 169
 human rights policy 7, 47, 181–9,
 200, 204–15, 225–6
 relationship with possession goals
 7, 47, 180–81, 189, 199–215,
 225–6, 227, 228–30
 research framework 6, 15, 33, 39,
 40, 41, 42–4, 46, 47
 shared values 182–6
 supranationalism 184, 189–91, 194,
 196, 213
 milieu shaping 5, 81, 180, 181, 215,
 227–8, 229–30
 energy policy 7, 189–99, 202, 203,
 213, 214
 EU–Russia relations 135, 136, 137,
 141, 143, 144, 145, 147, 151,
 152, 154, 155–6, 158–9, 161,
 164–5, 169, 172–3, 224–5
 human rights policy 7, 182, 184,
 187, 188, 189
 research framework 15, 33–4, 43–4,
 46–7, 49
 shared norms 189–99
 ‘military power’ 5, 19
 ministerial level (Council of the
 European Union) 86, 87, 88, 90,
 93–5, 111, 121, 144, 151

- Mogherini, Federica 97, 112, 117, 118
 mutually beneficial approach 67–8, 211
- NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) 116, 163, 182
 natural gas imports 147–9
 Navalny, Alexei 205
 neofunctionalism 16, 17–8, 19
 new institutionalisms 16, 34–5, 37, 78
 NGOs (non-governmental organizations) 158, 205
 Nice Treaty (2001) 62, 63, 184
 Nord Stream II 125, 167, 198
 ‘normal power’ 5, 19
 normalization of EU–Russia relations 83, 135, 136, 137, 139, 149, 155, 164, 172, 224
 ‘normative power’ 5, 19, 22, 139, 141n, 142
 Novak, Alexander 150
 Nuttall, Simon 64, 103
- Oettinger, Günther 121, 150, 201, 202
 operationalizing coherence 29–32, 44
 opportunity (actorness dimension) 21
 Orbán, Viktor 162
Ostpolitik 147
- Paks Nuclear Power Plant 162
 Paris Treaty (1951) 189–90
 Parliamentary Cooperation Committee 146
 participatory requirements 196–9
 Partnership for Modernisation 119, 145, 154, 159, 194
 path dependence 36, 78, 114, 118, 128, 129
 Pawlak, Waldemar 201
 PCA (Partnership and Cooperation Agreement) 119
 EU–Russia relations 139–42, 143–5, 146, 149, 151, 153, 155, 159, 167, 168n
 milieu and possession goals 183, 190, 193, 194, 209
- PGNiG 200–201
 Piebalgs, Andris 150
 ‘pipeline diplomacy’ 199
 policy content 4–5, 221, 226
 coherence as a guiding principle 60–61, 65, 68, 69, 74–5, 222
 coordinating foreign policy 224
 EU–Russia relations *see* EU–Russia relations
 relations
 milieu and possession goals 180, 181, 189
 research framework 6, 15, 28, 32, 33, 34, 37–42, 44–5, 47, 48, 49
 policy setting 4–5, 221, 224, 226
 coherence as a guiding principle 60–61, 65, 67, 69, 74–5, 222
 coordinating foreign policy *see* coordinating foreign policy
 research framework 6, 15, 32, 33, 34–7, 38, 39, 40–42, 44–6, 48
- Polish Gas-Trading S.A. 201
 Polish–Russian Gas Negotiations (2010) 7, 200–204, 226, 228–9
 political initiatives 15, 25, 29, 31–2, 42, 182
 Politkovskaya, Anna 152, 168, 205
 possession goals 221
 energy policy 7, 47, 189–96, 197, 200–204, 208–15, 225–6
 EU–Russia relations 140, 143, 151, 154
 human rights policy 7, 47, 200, 204–15, 225–6
 relationship with milieu goals 7, 47, 180–81, 189, 199–215, 225–6, 227, 228–30
 research framework 6, 15, 33, 39–40, 41, 42–4, 46, 47
 supranationalism 184, 189–91, 194, 196, 213
 possession seeking 47, 180, 203, 213, 227–8, 229
 research framework 15, 33, 43, 46, 47
- power 5–6, 230
 EU–Russia relations 137, 141n, 142, 156, 161–2, 163, 168, 171, 173
 research framework 16, 19–24
- PPC (Permanent Partnership Council) 119, 144, 149, 153, 154
 PPCE (Permanent Partnership Council on Energy) 90, 102, 149–50, 151

- presence (actorness dimension) 21
 'problem-structural approach' 38
 PSC (Political and Security Committee)
 77, 88, 92–3, 94, 98, 99, 104–5,
 108, 120–21, 146
 'punching below its weight' (EU) 2, 20,
 65, 173
 Pussy Riot 91, 152, 168, 204, 205, 206,
 207, 208
 Putin, Vladimir 136, 142, 156, 161, 162,
 164, 210, 212
- QMV (qualified majority voting) 81, 86,
 95, 107, 121
- rational choice institutionalism 35–6, 37,
 78, 80, 102, 114, 128, 129
 'regulatory power' 5, 19
 research framework 6, 12–15
 actorness 15, 16, 20–24
 coherence analysis 6, 15, 16–17,
 23–32, 40–42
 defining 'coherence' 25–9
 defining EU foreign policy 12–14
 dual analytical approach 6, 40–42,
 44
 effectiveness analysis 15, 16, 22–4,
 28, 29, 35, 36–7, 41, 44, 46
 institutionalism 15, 16, 34–8, 39, 40,
 42, 45–6
 institutionalization 14, 16, 18, 34,
 37, 44, 46
 institutions 33, 34–7
 intergovernmentalism 16, 17–18,
 19, 34
 limits of dichotomies 17–20
 milieu and possession goals 6, 15,
 33, 39–40, 41, 42–4, 46–7
 operationalizing coherence 29–32,
 44
 policy content 6, 15, 28, 32, 33, 34,
 37–42, 44–5, 47, 48, 49
 policy setting 6, 15, 32, 33, 34–7,
 38, 39, 40–42, 44–6, 48
 power debates 16, 19–24
 research propositions 44–50
 supranationalism 16
 theoretical contributions 16–24
- 'Roadmap EU–Russia Energy
 Cooperation until 2050' 150
 Rosatom 162
 Rosneft 163
 Rostov-on-Don Summit (2010) 145
 rule of law 32, 43, 116, 138, 145, 146,
 152, 157, 159, 172, 183–4, 206,
 211
 'Russian bear' image 157, 165
 Russian Federal Assembly 146
- Šeščovič, Maroš 229
 SG (Secretariat General) 98
 shared norms 137–43, 171, 181, 189–99
 shared values 1, 21, 70, 106, 137–43,
 154–6, 182–6, 189
 Shmatko, Sergei 150
 Single European Act (SEA, 1986) 30, 61,
 182, 187
 Skripal, Sergei 110
 Skripal, Yulia 110
 socialization 36, 79, 147, 223
 coordinating foreign policy 6,
 103–6, 113, 127, 128
 sociological institutionalism 35, 36–7,
 78, 103, 114, 128, 129
 soft power 19
 Solana, Javier 85
 sovereignty 2, 67, 226, 227–8, 229
 coordinating foreign policy 94, 115
 EU–Russia relations 141, 142
 milieu and possession goals 194,
 201, 203–4, 211
 research framework 17, 30, 31, 38
 'speaking with one voice' 2, 3, 8, 223
 coherence as a guiding principle
 65–6, 70, 72
 coordinating foreign policy 86, 105,
 111, 116, 127
 milieu and possession goals 194,
 198, 200, 203
 research framework 18, 23, 28, 29
 special committees 92
 strategic objectives, lack of 7, 122–5
sui generis structure of EU 18, 21, 34,
 38, 39, 77, 98, 230
 'superpower' 5, 19
 supranationalism 161, 223, 225, 227–8
 coherence as a guiding principle 62,
 67, 71, 72,

- coordinating foreign policy 80, 85, 90, 103, 114, 115, 116–18, 125, 127,
 - milieu and possession goals 184, 189–91, 194, 196, 213
 - research framework 16, 17–19, 28, 30, 34
- SWOT-analysis 229
- Syrian Civil War 123
- TCAs (Trade and Cooperation Agreements) 138, 139, 140
- TEU (Treaty on European Union) 3, 16, 73, 82, 95, 187–8n, 195, 202
- TFEU (Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union) 84, 195, 202
- Third Energy Package 97, 160, 167, 197–9
- ‘traditional family values’ 157
- Transneft 163
- Treaty of Rome (1957) 1
- Treaty on European Security (proposed) 146
- TTE (Transport, Telecommunications and Energy Council) 81, 92, 95, 121
- turf wars 7, 79, 114, 119–22, 129, 224
- Tusk, Donald 195
- Ukraine crisis 83, 89–90, 119, 121, 123, 124, 193–4, 196
 - EU–Russia relations 7, 137, 143, 146, 147, 148, 151, 153, 154, 155, 156, 163–4, 170–71, 173, 224–5
 - unintended consequences 36, 73, 114, 119, 128, 224
 - uploading 6, 18, 79, 109–11, 113, 127, 128, 223
- Van Rompuy, Herman 145, 195, 205, 228
- vertical coherence
 - coherence as a guiding principle 61, 65
 - coordinating foreign policy 86, 91, 101, 116, 128
 - milieu and possession goals 185, 209
 - research framework 15, 25, 26, 27–8, 29, 30, 31, 32, 45, 48
- vertical coordination mechanisms 45, 48, 78, 80, 89, 102, 126, 223
- Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (1969) 140
- Visegrád Four 108–9
- Vogler, John 21, 26
- Wolfers, Arnold 5, 6, 15, 33, 34, 39, 40, 41, 46, 129, 180, 221
- working party level (Council of the European Union) 86, 87–92, 95, 101, 110
- WTO (World Trade Organisation) 162
- ‘Yamal–Europe’ pipeline 200, 201
- Yeltsin, Boris 161